

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1846

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

JCS WASHDC

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

USMISSION NATO

USNMR SHAPE

USDELMC

USCINCEUR

CINCUSNAVEUR

CINCUSAFE RAMSTEIN

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

DIRNSA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: MARR, MASS, US, GR, TU

SUBJECT: FURTHER REACTION TO US-GREEK DEFENSE COOPERATION
AGREEMENT (DCA)

REF: ATHENS 7097 (DTG 291523Z JUL 77)

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THE PRINCIPAL OPPOSITION LEADER
GEORGE MAVROS OF THE UNION OF THE DEMOCRATIC CENTER (UDC),
ADDED HIS VOICE LATE JULY 29 TO THOSE OF ALL OTHER OPPOSI-
TION LEADERS IN CONDEMNING THE INITIALING OF THE U.S.-
GREEK DCA JULY 28. MAVROS ALSO CALLED FOR A SPECIAL SESSION
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OF PARLIAMENT TO DEBATE THE NEW AGREEMENT. IN RESPONSE A
GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN SAID THAT NO SPECIAL SESSION WILL BE
CALLED; THE AGREEMENT WILL BE TABLED IN PARLIAMENT, HE SAID,
WHEN THE GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS IT IN THE NATIONAL INTEREST.
PRESS INTEREST CONTINUED HIGH OVER THE WEEKEND, FUELED
PRINCIPALLY BY THE EXCHANGES BETWEEN MAVROS AND THE GOVERNMENT.
THE LATTER CLAIMED THE RECORD SHOWS THAT MAVROS

HAD EARLIER APPROVED THE COURSE FOLLOWED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND, MORE SPECIFICALLY, THAT THE AGREEMENT CONTAINS PROVISIONS CONCERNING U.S. FACILITIES WHICH WERE ADVOCATED BY MAVROS. EDITORIALY, OPINION SEEMS TO BE POLARIZING WITH THE PRO-GOVERNMENT AND CONSERVATIVE PRESS TENDING TO SUPPORT THE NEW AGREEMENT WHILE THE OPPOSITION COMMUNIST AND LIBERAL PRESS FLATLY CONDEMN IT. END SUMMARY.

2. UDC LEADER MAVROS SPOKE UP IN OPPOSITION TO THE DCA ON JULY 29. MAVROS SAID THE "SUDDEN" INITIALING OF THE DCA ENDANGERED NATIONAL SECURITY AS IT PAVED THE WAY FOR CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE U.S.-TURKISH DCA WHICH IN TURN WOULD ENCOURAGE TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE IN THE AEGEAN AND ON CYPRUS. HE ALSO WAS REPORTED AS SAYING HIS PARTY HAS ALWAYS OPPOSED FOREIGN BASES IN GREECE AND QUESTIONING THE ETHICS OF LINKING MILITARY ASSISTANCE WITH THE GRANTING OF BASES.

3. MAVROS' STATEMENT, AND THOSE OF THE OTHER OPPOSITION LEADERS CONCERNING THE "SUDDEN" AND SECRET NATURE OF THE AGREEMENT, DREW A QUICK GOVERNMENT RESPONSE. ACCORDING TO THE SEMI-OFFICIAL ATHENS NEWS AGENCY (ANA) BULLETIN, A GOVERNMENT STATEMENT POINTED OUT THAT THE TALKS LEADING TO THE AGREEMENT HAD GONE ON FOR 18 MONTHS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES CONTAINED IN THE KISSINGER-BITSIOS FRAMEWORK AGREEMENT OF APRIL 1976. THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN ALSO NOTED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE PRIME MINISTER HAD SPOKEN ON THE ISSUE IN PARLIAMENT AND A JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON THE PROGRESS OF THE TALKS HAD BEEN ISSUED LAST OCTOBER. THUS IT WAS INCORRECT TO SAY THE INITIALING OF THE AGREEMENT CAME AS A SURPRISE.

4. THE STATEMENT WENT ON TO SAY PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS HAD BEEN CHEERED IN PARLIAMENT IN DECEMBER 1974 WHEN HE STATED THAT THE U.S. BASES AS SUCH WOULD BE ABOLISHED AND U.S. FACILITIES WOULD BE PLACED UNDER FULL GREEK CONTROL ON FOUR GREEK MILITARY INSTALLATIONS. MAVROS HAD AGREED WITH THIS, THE STATEMENT ADDED. THE \$700 MILLION IN MILITARY AID, THE STATEMENT EXPLAINED, SHOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS THE PRICE FOR THE BASES OR THE EQUIVALENT OF "30 PIECES OF SILVER" (AS CHARGED BY PASOK LEADER ANDREAS PAPANDREOU). IN MARCH 1976 TURKEY HAD BEEN PROMISED \$1 BILLION IN U.S. MILITARY AID AND IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A MISTAKE NOT TO REACT BECAUSE OTHERWISE THE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE AREA WOULD HAVE BEEN DISTURBED. THE STATEMENT CLAIMED THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT SAFEGUARDS GREEK INTERESTS REGARDLESS OF THE FATE OF THE U.S.-TURKISH AGREEMENT. IT ADDED THAT MAVROS' REQUEST FOR A SPECIAL PARLIAMENTARY SESSION WOULD BE DENIED, AS PARLIAMENT HAS BEEN REPEATEDLY INFORMED ON FOREIGN AND

DEFENSE POLICY AND MAVROS WOULD HAVE AMPLE TIME TO CONSIDER THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT WHEN IT WAS SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT. THE STATEMENT CONCLUDED THAT PAPANDREOU'S CHARGES AND THREAT TO CARRY ON AN "UNRELENTING" STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BASES DID NOT DESERVE AN ANSWER.

5. MAVROS REBUTTED THE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT BY RECALLING EARLIER STATEMENTS HE HAD MADE OPPOSING THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN BASES ON GREEK TERRITORY. NO DIALOGUE WAS POSSIBLE ON THE SUBJECT, HE SAID, IN THE ABSENCE OF FOUR PREREQUISITES: (A) THE SAFEGUARDING OF THE STATUS QUO IN THE AEGEAN ESTABLISHED BY THE TREATIES FOLLOWING THE TWO WORLD WARS; (B) THE GUARANTEE OF THE INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF GREECE; (C) RECOGNITION BY NATO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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MEMBER-STATES THAT THE SECURITY GUARANTEE FOR ITS MEMBERS IS NOT LIMITED TO AGGRESSION FROM OUTSIDE THE ALLIANCE BUT ESPECIALLY BY ONE OF ITS MEMBERS; AND (D) IMPLEMENTATION OF UN RESOLUTIONS ON CYPRUS CALLING FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF TURKISH TROOPS AND THE RETURN OF THE REFUGEES TO THEIR HOMES.

6. PRESS PLAY OVER THE WEEKEND CENTERED ON THE MAVROS-GOVERNMENT EXCHANGE. ON JULY 30 LIBERAL TO VIMA HEADLINED MAVROS' STATEMENT "THE AGREEMENT OPENS THE PATH FOR AID TO THE TURKS" WHILE PRO-GOVERNMENT KATHIMERINI HEADLINED, "GOVERNMENT'S REPLY TO OPPOSITION -- THE AGREEMENT IS A SUCCESS." COMMUNIST AVGHI HEADLINED, "STRONG REACTION TO AGREEMENT WITH AMERICANS, NATIONAL INTERESTS ENDANGERED." THE FOLLOWING ARE REPRESENTATIVE HEADLINES FROM THE JULY 31 PRESS: PRO-GOVERNMENT ACROPOLIC, "AGREEMENT IN GREECE'S INTERESTS;" RIGHTIST ELEFTHEROS COSMOS "CONTROVERSY OVER BASES CONTINUES AT HIGH LEVEL;" PRO-GOVERNMENT KATHIMERINI, "TURKEY UPSET BY AGREEMENT: INTENSIFIED AMERICAN PRESSURE FOR CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS."

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY ATHENS
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7. ON JUNE 29 TO VIMA, IN AN EDITORIAL, CONDEMNED THE
"SUDDEN" INITIALING AS LEAVING GREECE NO BARGAINING LEVERAGE
WITH THE U.S. OR NATO AND STATED THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD
HAVE USED THE AGREEMENT TO INFLUENCE U.S. POLICY TO SUPPORT
GREEK RIGHTS ON CYPRUS AND IN THE AEGEAN. AVGHI ATTACKED
GOVERNMENT CLAIMS THAT THE U.S. FACILITIES WOULD BE UNDER
GREEK CONTROL AS "A MYTH" AND ARGUED THAT THE \$700 MILLION
IN MILITARY AID WAS TO PERMIT NUCLEAR DEVICES AND ELECTRONIC
ESPIONAGE EQUIPMENT ON THE BASES. RIZOSPASTIS NOTED THAT
"THE GREEK PEOPLE HAVE 30 YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN DEALING
WITH AMERICANS" AND CALLED FOR A NATIONAL REFERENDUM ON THE
DCA. PRO-GOVERNMENT VRADYNI CRITICIZED OPPOSITION LEADERS
FOR THEIR "DRAMATIC" REACTION TO THE INITIALING AND CITED
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PUBLIC DEBATE OVER THE ISSUE DURING THE PAST. IT ALSO
COMMENTED THAT INITIALING THE U.S.-GREEK DCA DOES NOT OPEN
THE DOOR FOR THE U.S.-TURKISH DCA, AS THE TWO ARE NOT
LINKED; INSTEAD THE U.S.-TURKISH DCA IS LINKED TO TURKISH
CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS AND APPROVAL OF THE U.S.-GREEK DCA
WOULD INCREASE PRESSURES ON TURKEY FOR CONCESSIONS.

8. IN EDITORIALS ON JULY 31, ULTRA RIGHTIST ESTIA
COMMENTED THAT FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD TRAPPED GREECE
INTO THE DCA NEGOTIATIONS BY CONCLUDING THE U.S.-TURKISH
DCA AND GREECE WAS BOUND TO FOLLOW IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE
BALANCE IN THE AREA WITH THE TURKS. ESTIA WARNED, HOWEVER, THAT THE
GOVERNMENT MUST KEEP IN MIND THAT THE DCA DOES NOT REALLY
CHANGE THE STATUS OF U.S. BASES; THE HIGHLY SOPHISTICATED

BASES ARE OF NO REAL USE TO GREECE AND SERVE ONLY U.S. INTERESTS; AND IT PERMITS APPROVAL OF THE U.S.-TURKISH DCA BY THE U.S. CONGRESS. IT PROPOSED THAT THE U.S. GUARANTEE GREECE'S BORDERS. AKROPOLIS ATTACKED WHAT IT CALLS THE OPPOSITION'S APPARENT INABILITY TO APPRECIATE THE ADVANTAGES OF THE DCA FOR GREECE. IT FOUND THIS UNDERSTANDABLE IN THE CASE OF PAPANDREOU, BUT NOT MAVROS WHO, IT SAID, ORIGINALLY SUPPORTED THE CONCEPT OF U.S. FACILITIES UNDER GREEK CONTROL. KATHIMERINE ECHOES THIS LINE, WHILE QUESTIONING THE ETHICS OF LINKING AID TO RESTRUCTURING THE STATUS OF THE U.S. BASES WHICH SHOULD HAVE BEEN ACCOMPLISHED REGARDLESS OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROMISES. IT CONCLUDED BY CALLING FOR UNANIMITY BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION ON THIS ISSUE IN THE FACE OF TURKISH THREATS. FINALLY, TO VIMA ASKS IF THE GOVERNMENT REALLY BELIEVES CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF THE U.S.-GREEK DCA WOULD PROVIDE PRESSURE FOR CONCESSIONS FROM TURKEY AND ANSWERS IT WOULD HAVE THE OPPOSITE EFFECT.

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9. THE STORY BEGAN TO DROP IN INTENSITY IN THE PRESS ON AUGUST 1. THE MONDAY AFTERNOON PRESS GAVE LESS ATTENTION TO THE DCA CONFINING ITS COVERAGE LARGELY TO SUMMARIES OF THE EXCHANGE OVER THE WEEKEND BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT AND MAVROS. VRADYNI EDITORIALIZED THAT THE REAL ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT HAD BEEN SOLVED DURING 18 MONTHS OF TECHNICAL DISCUSSIONS. IT ASKED WHAT ELSE THE OPPOSITION WANTED --USELESS DRAWN OUT NEGOTIATIONS? THE PREVIOUS STATUS? IT COMMENTED THAT ONLY THOSE WHO WANT THE U.S. INSTALLATIONS COMPLETELY DISMANTLED WILL CONTINUE THEIR CRITICISM AND POINTED OUT THAT U.S.-GREEK COOPERATION USUALLY MEANS COOPERATION WITH THE WEST AS THE U.S. LEADS THE WEST.
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Message Attributes

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Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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